1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

THE Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwavi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others.

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Másae (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwavi (*or* Kwapi) in Masai is countries *or* somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word 'masaa, property, and that Kwavi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa[1]. Somewhat more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show clear resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai, Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile[2]. These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another, Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the course of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[1] The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the nomadic warriors to agriculturalists of their own or allied races (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the 'L-Oikop are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Nyando valley.

[2] Baker perhaps alludes to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

634 162 561 231 The Sighirari of the Engidongi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidongi.

[563] [144] The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirits" named Il Tareto and Seure. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Mejuali, Il Kidemmi and Il Sogon. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalelwa, Naromuro, Ol ol Turesh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirits," named Il Kituli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il-Kunono.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose *raison d'etre* has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the counsels of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability: they have always realized that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Recapitulation.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

exposure; for the damp cold is singularly fatal to the coast natives, who, under its influence, drop down paralyzed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to better themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Si wezi," "Si wezi" (I am not able). On my return march at Mianzi-ni, to the east of Naivasha, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightning of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually *white*, and remained so all night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without huts, I question very much if ten men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralyzed were they that even in their huts they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to bestir themselves.

So much for Masai Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remarkable race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Masai, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their ideas of man and nature, and their sociological relations.

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately descriptive of the Masai as a race. Learned philologists profess to have discovered from a study of the Masai language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Hamitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and North Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Masai are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Bantu tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their cranial development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in the former respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity.

The Masai tribe is divided into about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These have not all the same position in Masai society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being reckoned of purer

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process.

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully.

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own ,and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *atabarno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai.

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called ol *onito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family .

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured.

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts.

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'moran' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the now liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood.

It is still so customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'moran' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

There are many varieties of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and loosely braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol daika'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

(i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'O-siteti (*Tamarindus indica*) *L.*; the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

(iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

(iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'ol-reteti' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified with Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Hochstetteri*, the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Battiscombe

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as " Njemps Kubwa " and " Njemps Ndogo " in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the " free-love " system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[13] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[14] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[15]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[16] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, " one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[13] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–53.
[14] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 337; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.
[15] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[16] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

whether, if the milk had been continued, there would have been a difference in adult stature. The results of the measurements of the Kikuyu and Masai at first sight suggests the latter alternative. But, although there has been a good deal of intermarriage between the two tribes, they were originally of different stock, and we have no information as to whether, or to what extent the differences in stature and physique may be inherited characters. It would be an interesting study to correlate diet and stature in different countries, to ascertain whether any correlation exists between the quality of the diet and mean adult stature.

There are differences in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, and one of the tribes, the Akikuyu, show abnormalities in the composition of the blood. The diet of this tribe is very rich in carbohydrate, relatively rich in phosphorus, but deficient in calcium. Experimental data have been brought forward to lend support to the suggestion that deficiencies in the diet, abnormal composition of the blood and reduced susceptibility to certain diseases which have been noted in this tribe, may be correlated. The possibility that diet may influence the susceptibility to certain infectious diseases raises one of the most important problems in nutritional research.

With regard to the bearing of the results of the investigation on conditions in Kenya, we are probably justified in concluding that the diet commonly in use amongst the Akikuyu and other tribes of similar customs is badly balanced, being too rich in carbohydrate and deficient in calcium. It is probably deficient also in other substances required as constructive material for growth, and in certain of the vitamins. On the other hand, the Masai, with a diet at the opposite extreme, possibly have too little vegetable food rich in carbohydrate and cellulose. Improvement might be brought about by increasing the use of green vegetables by both tribes, and of milk by the Akikuyu.

The problem is therefore one which concerns not only medical and public health, but also agricultural authorities. A general improvement of agriculture and animal husbandry amongst the Akikuyu will almost certainly be accompanied by an improvement in the health and working capacity of the natives themselves.

This problem is not confined to Kenya. It appears to exist in many different areas in our tropical dependencies. It may be judged from the introductory statements in the early part of this report that the loss of health and efficiency attributable to deficient diet is, therefore, of considerable economic importance.

M 174 184 619 [101] [361]

/8 cont./

the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144]

In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people: in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174

A last group, finally, became hunters, the El aiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderobo: the third and most recent, the El gaurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those

M 174 184

impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648]

Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisongo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol Bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called El serenget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'no : a province) is divided into districts (en gob : the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisongo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Serengeti- or even Kiteto-, Molbo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oiloh has been misinterpreted,

M [101]

M 192 101

1, [The reference is to the last group of the original Ewafi--Analyst]

M 192 101 /9 cont./ in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land": this, however, would be called: ol opén l eń gob.

M 619 184 181 The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful, sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very considerable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribesmen, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties again raged so destructively among their herds.

M [144] M [648] M 829 619 [241] [231] [438] [731]

D 105 While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Asá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

/10 cont./

000 superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms. Just as all the crimes resulting from these, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. But
648 721 even a people standing culturally higher than the Masai, with their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a dominant position peacefully living side by side. The means of attaining it were the wars waged constantly and ruthlessly. Their daring raids greatly impressed the Negroes, which
[177] is why the latter, in order to be taken for Masai themselves and to be feared as such, adopted their attire on war expeditions.
• 144 177 The involuntary admission into these Negro tribes on the part of many Masai women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory intercourse of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agriculturalists when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances
000 that took shape in the direction of a general Masaization. To the young Negroes the free, lazy existence of the Masai warriors, devoted only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Masai figures more desirable /11/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Negroishness and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiseled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the former. Thus the Masai
144 177 gave much of their blood to other tribes, and today in almost all the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one could take for pure Masai.

/11 cont./

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Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

179 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

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114 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship between the three branches, others claim to have observed such great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadoróbo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially. /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

/12 cont./

619 142 144 In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches 1/A the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They [727] [171] [582] [563] practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community.

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Fonck II phot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the [178] time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed [361] not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual

1/A [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

M /12 cont./
619 Wakuafi settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest
142 where the Wakuafi have already been sedentary longest, least and
144 often scarcely /13/ noticeable or even not at all where they did
[361] not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century.
M The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new Masai elements
[731] to the Wakuafi, had a restraining effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about
D the family tree. Among the Wandorobo who live far from the
144 Negroes, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppes, for the most part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken place, at all, against which, to be sure, such with the Saoska, belonging to the tribally related Tatoga, must be assumed with certainty on grounds of a historic and linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also seems excluded from the outset, for they constantly had an influx of Masai women and children, whose husbands and fathers had perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

M If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three Masai
D branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all
142 cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one
[144] comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unattractively thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are gracile, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear comely. Shapeless, unlovely ampleness one really finds only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is less prognathous than among Negroes, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

/14 cont./

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Emil Müller phot

1 2 3 4

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

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/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
72 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[186] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[177] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
[144] tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[721] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

114 184 Consequently one must specify which Masai he is speaking of, where, and when; it is not valid to generalize about "the Masai."

History

121 Man is the ecological dominant, therefore knowledge of human history of an area is basic to understanding of its ecological history. For this reason I have gone into the history of the Masai in some detail.

174 Before 1800: The early history of the Masai has been discussed by a number of writers. Among the important works are those by Fosbrooke (1948, 1956), Gower (1948), Grant (1954, 1957), Hollis (1905), Leakey (1930), Peters (1891), Sanford (1919), Simon (1962), and Thomson (1885). The following summary is drawn from these writings.

[144] The Masai are considered to be of Nilo-Hamitic stock. It is believed that about 400 years ago they occupied a lowland country north and west of Lake Rudolph in northern Kenya. According to their own traditions they (subsequently) occupied a country called Kieru which must have been the Rift Valley between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. This area lies about